

Routes to tour in Germany

The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there - to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both. The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

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Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.



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Special Community summit stays temperate on German issue



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position to finance projects totalling one billion ECU's, bankrolled over a three-year period by European Community budget funds.

Trade on easier terms, as agreed in treaties with Poland and Hungary, has already been brought forward, as it were, and both countries enjoy tariff preferences granted to developing countries.

European Community food aid to Poland is to be stepped up yet again. Training programmes and environmental protection projects have been agreed too.

Ideas such as proposals to set up a Development and Modernisation Bank for Eastern Europe or a Foundation for Vocational and Management Training are being considered.

The GDR is less needy than other East European countries, but talks on a treaty that will probably cover more than mere trade ties are also imminent.

Its scope will depend, as will the development of intra-German trade ties, on progress in democratisation.

The Paris summit demonstrated sound judgement in yet another sector. Despite the evident connection the Twelve set aside for the time being their dispute over the pace at which, given revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe, integration within the European Community, including crucial issues in respect of monetary union and the social dimension of the internal market, was to proceed.

This dispute will hold pride of place at the Strasbourg European Community summit on 8-9 December, a gathering that will practically conclude France's six-month presidency. Credit is due to Chancellor Kohl for having made it clear at the Paris summit that the Federal Republic is clearly committed to the Western system of values and for having emphasised the importance of European integration.

Eberhard Wisdorff
(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 20 November 1989)

That could hardly have been otherwise, given that it was the first visit to Poland by a German Federal Chancellor for 12 years. Besides, Bonn and Warsaw had set about the visit with different expectations and objectives.

The link between the Chancellor's visit to Poland and dramatic developments in the GDR, including Dr Kohl's interruption of his visit to fly back to Berlin and Bonn, certainly made it clear how important cordial relations between Bonn and Warsaw are for further progress in the all-European Community.

The message was clear. Both countries faced a harsh winter. The time factor was of great importance, Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki told his Western European visitors. The next few weeks will be crucial.

Both Hungary and Poland are negotiating terms with the International Monetary Fund. The success of these talks will depend not on urging by the Twelve in Paris but on convincing programmes of economic reform presented to the IMF.

The catalogue of specific measures discussed in Paris was lengthy. Coordination of Western aid to Poland and Hungary by the European Commission will be further discussed at a 13 December Ministerial conference attended by 24 countries and including Polish and Hungarian representatives.

The European Community itself has pledged direct assistance totalling 300 million ECU's, or over DM600m.

The European Investment Bank is in a



Summittears in Paris. Left, French President Mitterrand; centre Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez and, right, Bonn Chancellor Kohl.

(Photo: dpa)

Kohl's visit signals step forward in Bonn-Warsaw relations

At a reception in Warsaw attended by the German Federal Chancellor, Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said Poland had gained a friend; he hoped Helmut Kohl would continue to champion Poland's cause.

This comment accurately described the outcome of the visit. Both sides had made sound progress even though they hadn't, by any stretch of the imagination, solved all their problems.

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European integration process. Not for nothing did the joint declaration stress the special responsibility of Poland and the Federal Republic for a policy of peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe.

Premier Mazowiecki showed understanding for the interruption of the visit as planned; he was well aware of the sig-

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will appear on 10 December.**

nificance of the reform process in the GDR. A similar process had begun in his own country nine months previously.

The Chancellor's visit and the momentum of intra-German developments have prompted a strategic reappraisal in Poland.

In the long term the two German states are expected to join forces, but subject to a number of important prerequisites: the consent of the Allies, a positive declaration of popular intent in both German states and some form of "all-European" approval of reunification.

What is more, Warsaw says, the process must proceed in a controlled manner.

To some extent the problem of Poland's western borders seems to be expected to be settled once and for all, as Warsaw would like to see it settled, more easily with a democratic united Germany.

Fears have also been voiced that the GDR might be given preference over Poland where economic and financial assistance are concerned.

As the joint declaration showed, both sides naturally made compromises.

No mention was made of the Polish government calling on the Church to hold Holy Mass in German. This provision was deleted under pressure from the Polish episcopate.

No mention was made of a German minority either, merely of people and popu-

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INTERNATIONAL

Changes in East demand new Western strategies

Once the intoxication of meeting again has subsided, the Germans will appreciate that opening the Berlin Wall and the intra-German border has wrought far-reaching changes in both German states and in European and world affairs.

This event without parallel in history presents Bonn's Deutschlandpolitik and its entire foreign policy with new, tough tasks that require responsible decisions.

Bonn must integrate the tempestuous headway in intra-German affairs in the all-European process and ensure the further progress of East-West relations.

The very next deadlines will be almost entirely overshadowed by these tasks. They include the meeting of the WEU Council of Minister, the US-Soviet Mediterranean summit and the Strasbourg European Community summit early next month.

Then come Nato's autumn conferences, Foreign Minister Genscher's mid-month visit to Hungary and the 19 December joint European Community and Efta summit meeting.

They may yet be joined by further deadlines, such as the conference of 24 Western countries, as proposed by Herr Genscher, that are prepared to jointly help the Polish and Hungarian economies back on their feet.

Since the Berlin Wall has, to all intents and purposes, been demolished previous analyses of the situation and contingency planning have been of no further use.

No-one has alternative concepts at the ready. They have yet to be drawn up, which excuses part of what has been said in the past few days.

Yet politicians could still have shown a little more perspective and adopted a more level-headed and specific approach than the fine words and all-inclusive offers (with strings) they chose to make, not to mention tasteless party-political bickering.

It simply isn't true to say that all fundamental decisions must now be taken by the GDR leaders alone.

Their next moves must, indeed, pave the way for free elections and, arguably even more urgently, for a gradual economic opening of the GDR.

But economic moves in particular must be undertaken on a cooperative basis.

In addition to intensifying existing facilities and setting up new working parties (on transport, telecommunications, foreign exchange regulations and political coordination), setting up a joint economic council would seem advisable.

With European Community participation it might both supervise the development of intra-German economic ties and emerge as a focal point of European economic policy.

Future cooperation between the two German states in the economic sector will have a much more far-reaching role than their immediate ramifications.

Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher have made it clear, in contacts with Bonn's allies and with the Soviet leaders, that the Federal Republic has no intention of departing from an existing policy line that has been largely responsible for major changes in Europe.

That is why Nato, the European Community, the CSCE process and disarmament talks remain the foundations of

Reactions from the four powers

WASHINGTON

US Presidents from John F. Kennedy to Ronald Reagan have stood in front of the Berlin Wall and called for its demolition.

Now the possibility of reunification no longer appears totally unrealistic, Washington too is fairly alarmed about what might be unpredictable consequences.

The Americans are not yet entirely clear what they ought to want. The only point on which the US government is clear is that there must not, for the foreseeable future, be a neutral, demilitarised Germany.

There might, say, be two more or

less loosely associated German states in which, again for the foreseeable future, Nato and Warsaw Pact troops continue to be stationed.

But it is too soon to start thinking along these lines. That is why President Bush feels the time is not yet ripe for symbolic gestures such as a visit to Berlin.

The *New York Times* says Washington and Bonn are agreed and that the Americans continue to approve of reunification.

PARIS

Germans dancing on the Berlin Wall have made the French dizzy too, but politicians and commentators are growing fears of a united Germany.

Commitments to German unity sound progressively feebler. "The arrival of the East Germans must not go hand in hand with the establishment of a state the weight of which is incompatible with our own institutions," says ex-President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

"The Germans may feel a development to be desirable, but (it must be) within the framework of the treaties by which they are bound to us."

The British government views the incipient debate on reunification with marked restraint.

Mrs Thatcher is reported to be increasingly alarmed lest events in the GDR jeopardise Mr Gorbachov's difficult position.

Her fears were voiced by William Waldegrave, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, on BBC TV when he warned against the GDR pulling out of the Warsaw Pact.

"Mr Gorbachov has made it quite clear," he said, "that there will be no

sition leaders such as M. Giscard d'Estaing and ex-President Jacques Chirac, not to mention President Mitterrand and the French president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors.

The Community must anchor Bonn firmly in the West and extend a welcoming hand to the GDR.

But the French public have yet to share to any great extent the hectic alarm voiced by politicians.

Six out of 10 French people questioned feel German reunification would be good for France. A mere 19 per cent, mainly old-age pensioners, have doubts.

LONDON

withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact." The *Times* says Downing Street is in close contact with the Soviet embassy, with Mrs Thatcher favouring a wait-and-see attitude.

She is opposed to fresh Deutschlandpolitik initiatives. In her view reunification does not rate high on the agenda. She is more interested in seeing a multi-party democracy set up in the GDR.

She will refer to developments in Eastern Europe as justifying her deep dislike of any idea of sterling joining the EMS.

MOSCOW

Nikolai Portugalov couldn't believe his ears when he tuned into *Deutsche Welle* on 10 November and heard that East Germans were flocking to the West.

Mr Gorbachov's German affairs expert readily admitted that he hadn't been expecting the border to be thrown open so soon.

Yet officially, at least, Moscow sounds a note of relative composure about the opening of the intra-German border.

Foreign Minister Shevardnadze even termed it a "normal occurrence." Soviet

Federal Germans ought to welcome." A few days after the de facto demolition of the Berlin Wall he now envisages a "special relationship between the two German states," while Mr Dashichev is convinced that the post-war order in Europe is on the brink of a fresh start.

The two German states in the heart of Europe were of crucial importance for a realignment in Europe. But German reunification is generally felt to be a remote prospect. The territorial order, in other words borders, is non-negotiable.

(Kreiszeitung, 14 November 1989)

German policy. There can be no question of Bonn going it alone or pursuing a separate and distinctive policy of its own.

But Nato will urgently need to reconsider its defence and disarmament concepts.

It like the Warsaw Pact, will need to switch from being a mainly military alignment to a mainly political role aimed at cooperative developments.

Once the central source of tension in Europe no longer applies, US citizens will soon no longer be alone in wondering whether stationing troops in central Europe can still be justified in existing numbers.

Issues such as modernisation of Nato's Lance missiles, which all but brought about a split in the North Atlantic pact last spring, will then no longer pose problems.

Disarmament talks are now subject to extra pressure to achieve results, partly be-

cause East and West even more urgently need substantial funds for other purposes.

The crucial issue and the greatest threat to stability will, from now on be posed by the task of economic consolidation in Eastern Europe and narrowing the prosperity gap.

A uniform Western policy toward Eastern Europe, especially a uniform policy to be pursued by Western Europe, is even more urgently needed.

It is a perspective for Europe as a whole as an economic region. This, indeed, is a matter of life and death for the reform movements in the East.

The Budapest conference of Hungarian, Italian, Austrian and Yugoslav Foreign Ministers on a start to regional cooperation is an important contribution and step in the right direction.

But, with a view to 1993 and the single European market, coordination of all

European processes is essential, of all European developments, including the EEA and the ECU.

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GERMANY

Coming West with an ambivalence of spirit

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ESTATE FOR DEUTSCHLAND

The first and most tumultuous stage of the major German "reunion" on 11/12 November has made one thing clear: a large number of East Germans do not appear to be particularly keen on the idea of reunification.

Not only Opposition groups in the GDR have overwhelmingly expressed their aversion to reunification. The visitors who came to the West on the weekend also showed little interest in the topic.

Forty years of division and forty years of dual statehood have cast a long shadow. This comes as no surprise to those familiar with the GDR.

In doing so they consolidate the SED's claim to leadership, weaken the pressure to reform and reduce the prospects of extensive economic and financial aid.

The Opposition groups must realise that only a single German state would be able to implement the tremendous reconstruction programme needed after forty years of Communist party mismanagement.

This mixture of motives has always existed. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that so many East Germans are now taking advantage of the new freedom to travel to look round the temple of consumption and then return home.

They live in hope that things will improve, that the political prerequisites have been created, and that all they need to do is take to the streets if the process begins to flag.

This could turn out to be an illusion.

By allowing East Germans to travel freely the ruling SED has made a clever move. It has inspired hopes of a better future and at the same time robbed the reform movement of part of its momentum.

Furthermore, the regime now knows that it need not fear the demand for an elimination of dual statehood.

This is an important factor for the political course adopted by the new Krenz/Modorow leadership team.

The Opposition groups in the GDR must beware. The power-minded communist SED cannot go to let itself be ousted from its traditional leading role that easily.

The SED still has the letter of the law on its side. Article 1 of the GDR constitution defines the character of the state ("socialist state of the workers and peasants") and lays down the leading role of the official party ("under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party").

It is not clear how the SED intends making this stipulation compatible with the free formation of a government.

If the constitution is to be viewed with greater respect than it has done so far – the proposal by Egon Krenz to set up a constitutional court points in this direction – any new policies must be preceded by a credible statement by the government that it intends, together with

parliament, changing the constitution and ridding it of the relics of the Leninist past.

Nothing of the kind has happened yet or seems likely to happen in the foreseeable future.

Instead, the new prime minister, Hans Modrow, keeps on talking about the intention of forming a "coalition government" and obviously also means after an election.

It is equally obvious which party is to assume leadership in such a constellation.

Up to now the SED has not officially commented on the demand by reformers that it should declare its willingness to respect the outcome of free elections and, if need be, also relinquish power.

The SED will already know a renunciation of its previous power monopoly and the participation of other political groups in power as a major concession to democracy.

This is the underlying intention of Modrow's coalition model. According to the SED, however, the "other" participants can be no more than junior partners.

No-one disputes the right of Germans in the GDR to decide against a single German state.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to go so far as to drop the option on such unity altogether, as repeatedly advocated by Opposition groups in the GDR.

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The cold, hard facts are still there the morning after

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

which mainly conceal the lack of true concepts. In the final analysis, an answer will have to be found to the following question: Is the GDR willing to take the Hungarian road to the West?

Is the GDR willing to categorically reject what it has propagated as a superior concept in the competition between the systems for forty years?

A political leadership under Egon Krenz hardly seems likely to make the decisions needed. Yet who knows how long Egon Krenz will be in charge.

Attempts to muddle through with half-hearted reforms are doomed.

Following the opening of the borders the GDR can no longer cut off its economy from the rest of the world.

Millions of East German Marks are already accumulating in West Berlin department stores. One possible result of the new policy is that visitors from the West will use this money to buy up everything they can find in the shops in Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden.

How can East Germans be prevented from trying to earn some West German Marks on the side if the hourly wage in the West amounts to a whole day's wage in the East?

The GDR must push through radical solutions: a monetary reform which aligns the huge stock of money in the GDR with the extremely poor range of goods on offer without depriving many East Germans of the money they have saved for forty years; a price reform which fills the shelves after a transition period, but does not lead to a situation in which the artificially reduced rents and food prices increase drastically.

Well off in comparison with others in East Bloc

The fact that even Mikhail Gorbachev has announced all this in the Soviet Union but has been unable to implement it shows just how difficult the task is.

The GDR economy, however, could be brought onto a market economy course. It is not a hopeless case right from the outset.

In comparison with the West the country is not in good shape, but in comparison with the Soviet Union, Poland and even Hungary it is well-off.

Western, above all West German firms are waiting to set up joint ventures in Saxony or Thuringia as soon as possible. This is not a generous contribution towards development aid, but calculable business.

A GDR without the socialist bureaucracy has plenty to offer. The people are qualified, are willing to work harder and achieve more than they have done so far.

With western technology and western management goods could be produced at a high standard in the GDR – and, in the foreseeable future, at a low cost.

It is understandable that the idea of becoming an extended workbench of the Federal Republic of Germany does not trigger a storm of enthusiasm on the other side of the Wall.

As an independent concern, however, the GDR has been a failure.

Uwe Vorkötter
(Stuttgarter Zeitung; 16 November 1989)

GERMANY

Fresh winds from the East are causing twittings in corridors of Brussels

European matters are piling up, one on top of the other — the single European market, currency union, a social charter for workers, the opening up of the Community of 12 to the East.

Now the tricky question of reunification can be added. Other European countries are looking anxiously at the Federal Republic and its future in the Community.

The German Question has become a matter of paramount importance in the corridors of the EC headquarters.

This has less to do with the idea of a relaxation of the German commitment to the Community, which used to be the discussion point, than ideas of integrating the German Democratic Republic into the European concept.

In discussions in Brussels the old alternative, integration or reunification, no longer emerges.

German reunification reservations of 1957, when the Treaties of Rome were signed, no longer play a role in the astonishing phenomena of the past few days.

Jacques Delors is the man who has presented a new view of the old question. Since he became president of the European Commission in 1985 he has concerned himself with the Germans, their changing history, their limited interest in European unification until now, and their inclination to express satisfaction with the Federal Republic's economic weight in the world and to underestimate the Federal Republic's political contribution.

Three years ago, in an interview with the London *Financial Times*, he said: "We should at last take account of the new Germany." He added that the Federal Republic would not be motivated to take part in EC developments when there were continuous reminders of a guilt which is now 40 years old.

He pointed out that the Germans were a great people and that their economy was the strongest in Europe. "I am trying to convince them that Europe is their future," he said.

Since then this idea has been a constant theme in Jacques Delors' public statements. It goes along with statements made by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President François Mitterrand.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher came on the scene when Poland and Hungary were feverish for reform and the first GDR refugees arrived in the Federal Republic.

In Vienna at the end of September he supported the view that the European Community must keep itself open not only for Austria but also for Poland and Hungary.

This could only be achieved at the best if the 12 member-states in the Community disregarded the point about close cooperation in defence matters, included in the Single European Act.

Genscher's comments disturbed Delors. They seemed to indicate that the German Foreign Minister was speaking out for a pause in European developments. Genscher of all people, the man who at the beginning of the 1980s was responsible for putting steam into integration in conjunction with the Italian Foreign Minister, Emilio Colombo.

Delors feared that Genscher, unintentionally, could stimulate the Germans to put the brakes on currency union and the social charter.

Yet the room for manoeuvre for di-

It seemed that the new impetus, which had been pushing the Community along for the past two years, was endangered.

A disturbed Delors went to Bonn at the beginning of October. In talks with Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher he tried to present his viewpoint.

He told the Chancellor and Foreign Minister that the Community could only open up towards the East and be ready to include new partners if the Community had gained internal stability.

He said that the Community would need to have stronger foundations if it were to be broadened one day.

In Delors' view the most important way of strengthening the Community was the realisation of economic and currency union, which he has advocated for years. He said that only in this way could the 12-member Community become a "stable but open model" for other countries.

It seems that no one in Bonn denied this view, and since then Genscher has supported an acceleration of integration as he previously did.

Delors' ideas about Germany were made clear in a speech to the European College in Bruges.

He said that the Community could only help the reform-minded states in the East Bloc, and at the same time give a satisfactory answer to the German Question, if the Community admitted without reservations its adherence to self-determination and let member-

Uncharacteristically, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was terse when asked in Brussels about the preparations for the proposed trade agreement with East Germany.

He said that there would be differing views among EC member-states on whether the time was appropriate to make a political signal to East Berlin.

In any event he wanted to avoid giving the impression that Bonn intended to apply pressure on its partners. He is reported to have himself suggested in the Council of Foreign Ministers that the EC should not rush things.

On the other hand EC Commissioner Martin Bangemann, former Economic Affairs Minister in Bonn, advised haste. He said he believed that an immediate and obvious EC presence in East Berlin was vital.

In his view this was important even through the full extent and the direction of the reform process could not yet be discerned.

Herr Bangemann, an FDP politician, could see no sense in prolonging negotiations. He said that the new leadership in the GDR wanted early dialogue with the EC.

But whether Brussels delays its mandate to negotiate or approves an agreement at the end of the month, fundamentally the EC has been open for negotiations with the GDR for some time.

The Commission's discussions to sound out attitudes have revealed that there are basically no problems involved. A satisfactory formula was found at the beginning of 1987 for the inclusion of West Berlin.

Sales in Western Europe presuppose a knowledge of the markets. This is only

turned from East Berlin. Senior Commission officials around Jacques Delors have begun to arrange systematically their ideas on the German Question. They have produced a three-stage plan.

In the first stage both German states are requested to take in hand their destiny within the context of self-determination and the preamble to Basic Law.

Neighbours in the East and the West would be consulted in the second stage. In the third the victorious powers of the Second World War must decide, because they have the powers of decision for Germany as a whole. The attitude of the Europeans would be the "clamp" between the first and second stages.

In Washington, where there has recently been interest in Delors' attitudes to the German Question, this view is widely supported.

But all these speculations show up that it is hardly possible to think about a reunified Germany in the EC without a sustained change in the balance of power, economically and politically, in Europe.

Like a dark shadow the ghost of a "Fourth Reich" appears before people's eyes and even wanders through the corridors of EC headquarters in Brussels.

Many have fears of opening up the Community to the East Bloc. Isn't the

Community formed on the pattern of the French spirit? Would not the geopolitical centre of the Community move towards Germany if the gates were opened to the East and a reunified Germany was part of the Community?

There are many questions but few reliable answers. One thing is certain, however: the fresh breeze from the East has had its effect in Brussels. The Community must be looked at afresh.

Peter Horst
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 13 November 1989)

states have room for manoeuvre for self-realisation through a strengthening of its federalist structures.

This meant that if the Germans were to decide for unity the Community must be prepared for this.

If objections were put in the Germans' path, their firm commitment to the Community could be undermined.

Like President Mitterrand, Delors knows that the first priority of the Germans is expressed in the preamble to Basic Law (Constitution). It states: The entire German people are called upon to achieve in free self-determination the unity and freedom of Germany. There is controversy about how a reunified German could be integrated into the Community.

Delors, asked recently on French television if he could envisage the day when there would be an East German commissioner in Brussels, spontaneously replied: "Certainly. Why not?"

This certainly does not mean that he would give preference to an "Austrian solution" with two German partners. His prime criterion is the right to self-determination.

Sir Leon Brittan, the British vice-president of the EC, took an opposing view. In his view the EC should welcome a reunified Germany if no other member was admitted into it. Sir Leon said that the Community should take note that a member had extended his territory.

Martin Bangemann, also a vice-president of the EC, voiced the same idea, more cautiously perhaps, after he re-

Disagreement on special status of East Berlin

rect trade concessions is limited. Still, in the short-term, East Berlin can count on the gradual elimination of import quotas.

But custom duties and import quotas are not so much a headache for the East German economy as being cut off from the single European market when it comes into being. This can only be prevented by regular contacts and institutional links with the EC.

In East Berlin there might have been fears that the privileges linked to intra-German trade through the GDR's special status might be endangered. But by neglecting to recognise the EC trade with the remaining EC countries has been negligible.

In 1988 about 80 per cent of the GDR's exports to the West, valued at 2.27 billion Marks, excluding exports to the Federal Republic, went to the European Community.

But intra-German trade alone was three times greater than trade with all the other EC countries put together. Total EC trade with East Germany is no greater than trade with Tunisia or Norway.

Technical norms could become ugly barriers in trade, if dialogue is not sought for with a trading partner and the necessary adjustments are not made.

In the long-term the total GDR trade with partners abroad would be impaired, if the authorities responsible did not demonstrate flexibility and good will.

This treatment is enshrined in a protocol to the Treaties of Rome and so far

Continued on page 5

many welcomes this influx of human talent and a zest for life it already has human and material resources in abundance; one can only hope that East Germany does not lose its best assets. But before things get better we can be expected to get worse.

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PERSPECTIVE

History puts in a demand for retribution as a Marxist-Leninist facade collapses

"A revolution is the return from the artificial to the real!" — Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, 1862.

What is happening in East Germany is the result of a political landslide in the heart of Europe.

The rebellion of freedom is brushing aside the living lie of the socialist German state. History demands retribution.

Whole armies of Communist party bu-

reaucrats, privilege-laden personifications of this lie, are being buried in its wake. Those left behind, the people, are now faced by the legacy of misspent years.

At the head of a new government and with the help of a Politburo reduced from 21

SECURITY IN EUROPE

Shifts in German Question factors forcing Nato to boost its political role

The rapid sequence of events in East Germany has suddenly thrust the Federal Republic on to centre stage in the Nato Alliance.

Nato's most important task now is to adjust security plans to take into account the changes in Eastern Europe and the opening up of the East German frontier.

The Western Alliance will strengthen its political functions and go beyond the aims which were included in the communiqué issued after the last summit conference in May.

The far-reaching changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union mean that strengthening the core of Nato and maintaining America's commitment to Western Europe remain the most important elements in a new European peace policy.

The security and stability of Europe stands or falls with this, even if the aims of the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe are to be achieved: bringing about a reduction of the military potential between the Atlantic and the Urals to a balanced situation by the removal of attack capabilities.

In spite of the Soviet desire to dissolve both alliances, Nato and the Warsaw Pact, Moscow party boss Mikhail Gorbachov does not intend to abandon the guarantees which are provided by the American presence in Western Europe.

Continued from page 2

the European Community into a European union.

This last-named task will gain momentum now many neighbouring countries feel the need to commit the Federal Republic even more firmly to its ties with the West. This need can be put to use in achieving genuine European objectives.

The CSCE process in particular will gain fresh significance and momentum, maybe as a model for other crisis zones too.

An objective of the greatest importance, even above and beyond the partly outmoded parameters of the January 1989 CSCE final document agreed in Vienna, would be to progress swiftly from conference diplomacy to a phase of instrumentalisation.

Ideological talkathons on human rights such as seriously hampered the environmental affairs conference in Sofia are no longer what is needed. What is needed is a framework on the basis of which life can take shape in freedom and dignity.

Preparations for the Bonn CSCE economic affairs conference, to be held next March, will be particularly important in this connection, and it will be for the German Federal government as the conference host to pave the way and mark out the direction.

Anyone who is at a loss what to say or do could do worse than take another look at the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

It has put the Europeans on the right path so far and contains all the answers to the questions that now arise.

It incorporates all the essential features of a European peace order that is no longer a pipe dream.

Dialogue and cooperation are the keywords, and neither could be more urgently needed.

*Wolf J. Bell
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 13 November 1989)*



Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

because they represent a protection against an escalation of the changes in Eastern Europe.

Coping with the difficulties as a consequence of recent events, particularly in East Germany, calls for perceptiveness, imagination and a clear recognition among the Alliance partners that there has been no change to the facts involving security.

The Alliance must not let itself be moved by emotions. By so doing the Alliance helps to strengthen the reform movement in Eastern Europe and the GDR, and can look towards a future in which the Cold War is no more.

Nato will consider these matters before its winter conference, which will take place just two weeks after the meeting between President Bush and Gorbachov on naval vessels off Malta.

In Brussels no one disputes that there has been a shift in the factors surrounding the German Question, and how the Western allies should adjust jointly to the changes in the GDR; the opening up of the frontier dividing the two Germanies and what has happened in reality, the demolition of the Berlin Wall.

How can the concealed concerns about the Federal Republic and its future be discussed openly by our neighbours and how can fresh impetus be given to European unity?

ductions, and are trying hard to show the Soviet defence strategy has been changed.

At the same time the recent Soviet demand to include naval forces in the negotiations is evidence that Moscow is trying to weaken the supply lines across the Atlantic.

France and Britain have urged caution after the opening up of the GDR frontier. It would be a nightmare for Paris and London were the Federal Republic to abandon Nato and the European Community.

Hence the calls for a strengthening of the Community, for swift action to complete the single European market and the request for Bonn to keep a cool head.

But these thoughts disregard the realities. The Federal Republic is today in Nato and the EC, is participating in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and is as such a part of Western Europe.

It is a dangerous game to *courier up* German misgivings, which do not exist but which could arise, if Bonn put at stake the inclusion of the United States and Canada in Europe's destiny. There are no signs of this.

The strength and force of attraction of Western Europe is based on the fact that there is a Transatlantic alliance. Disbanding it would be a retrogressive step into "Fortress America." Western Europe would then appreciate that it is incapable of coming to terms in a security sense with the changes in Eastern Europe.

For the time being the security structures in the East and the West must be maintained and then altered sensibly. That will take time. The Western Alliance must steadfastly press ahead in the narrow area between spontaneous enthusiasm and sober, practical-political lines of reasoning.

So the German Question still remains part of the great task of drawing the final line under the post-war period.

*Jan Reisenberg
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 14 November 1989)*

Nato ready to take the first step first

this then means that the Federal Republic, with the largest armed forces in Western Europe, must continue to be one of the most important corner-stones of the alliance.

The tough wrestling for answers at the last Nato summit in May is still bright in the memory.

But the political changes now sweeping the East Bloc, especially those in East Germany, have transformed the breathing difficulties into something more asthmatic — a state of health caused by pure confusion.

Hasty statements from Nato headquarters support this view. Just a few hours after the opening of the GDR frontier Manfred Wörner, Nato secretary-general, explained that the Western Alliance was following these events closely, and that they demonstrated once more the convincing power of the democratic ideal which the Western Alliance represented.

Statements of this kind are obligatory from a senior representative of Nato, especially as they can be interpreted in various ways.

Herr Wörner, former Defence Minister in Bonn, expressed another idea more precisely. At a meeting in Brussels he spoke of a possible reunification of Germany, which in his view this process could be ushering in.

He said that the status quo in Germany cannot be maintained for ever adding, however, that changes taking place in the East would not present grounds for abandoning the Alliance.

It incorporates all the essential features of a European peace order that is no longer a pipe dream.

Dialogue and cooperation are the keywords, and neither could be more urgently needed.

*Wolf J. Bell
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 13 November 1989)*

in Budapest will remain in office after the parliamentary elections arranged for next year.

Shevardnadze's spokesman, Mr Gerassimov, clung on to the approach that the government could change but international obligations would remain.

Speculations about the disbandment of the Nato Alliance is just an intellectual exercise as far as Mr Gerassimov is concerned. He said the GDR would remain a strategic component of the Warsaw Pact.

The West must take to heart the advice not to make the second step before the first has been taken.

There is some point in exploiting to the full present opportunities for disarmament at more levels. This is all the more valid since in Vienna, where negotiations are under way for the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, and in Geneva, where the Americans and the Russians want to achieve controls over strategic weapons, the outlook for success in both is better than it has ever been.

A discussion about the further existence of the defence alliances can cause confusion. The laborious assessment of weapons on both sides, and their division into various and comparable categories, as a requirement for reducing armaments, would be far-reaching.

Certainly, it has to be borne in mind that both alliances are not only military but also political organisations. But the real decisions about changes will be mainly in the interests of the superpowers. Both the Federal Republic and the Nato secretary-general can therefore only be observers watching over the fence.

*Ewald Stein
(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 13 November 1989)*

FINANCE

How East Germany got to the brink of ruin

The author of this article, Professor Hermann von Berg, is an economist. Until he left the GDR for the Federal Republic in 1986 he was head of economics at the Humboldt University in East Berlin. For many years he was a close associate of and adviser to GDR Premier Willi Stoph.

The Socialist Unity Party (SED) has so far given the lead in the GDR. But where has it led it? To the brink of disaster.

It has reduced what used to be the most creative, the most productive part of Germany to the level of a developing country only half as productive, in per capita terms, as the Federal Republic of Germany.

A party that has done the people such lasting damage must step down. The Opposition, which as yet lacks an economic concept of any kind, must insist on the resignation of the SED's chief economist, Otto Reinhold.

Professor Reinhold has upheld his clumsy economic policy concept to the last. Only now has he suddenly, flexibly, discovered "market-oriented economic planning."

What is it? Political democracy and an effective, social market economy coupled with a party-political monopoly and a "democratised" system of socialist management?

What is the solution? In political terms, a pluralistic democracy that reactivates the devastated desire to perform and offsets the demotivation and passive resistance of the producers:

Will bureaucrats continue to fix prices arbitrarily, or will that be left to the pressure of genuine competition?

Can one define as a market a system in which prices and subsidies amount to officially organised chaos and there is no objective yardstick by which efficacy can be measured on the basis of the ominous principle of socialist performance?

The true reformers — the democrats and not the "democratisers" — must arrive at a decision. There is no third road midway between the capitalist market and the socialist plan.

Speculations about the disbandment of the Nato Alliance is just an intellectual exercise as far as Mr Gerassimov is concerned. He said the GDR would remain a strategic component of the Warsaw Pact.

The elimination of the market brought about by the abolition of money took Russia to the brink of ruin between 1917 and 1921.

Who is to ensure the GDR's economic survival? Can the present policy be continued, given the shorter life expectancy and the highest increase in serious respiratory complaints in Europe (the GDR can't afford to install smokestack desulphurisation plant either)?

How is the chemical industry to be restructured? How are the cities and the countryside to be modernised and decentralised?

The principle of economic accountability was introduced at the same time, envisaged as profit-oriented production on a performance basis subject to financial control, but never worked.

It is a hybrid that can but vegetate. Prices can only be either bona fide market prices or bureaucratic sham prices.

Seven reform waves of this system have failed in the Soviet Union, three in Comecon, the East Bloc Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Yugoslav alternative has failed too, as has socialism all over the world. Socialism has transformed the richest part of the world into the poorest of the industrialised countries.

Companies of this kind must be set up and extended to include enterprises in the commercial, services, trades and health sectors.

Third, goods and services must be made fully convertible, failing which the

against one's own people were and are socialism as practised, regardless of the nameplate, whether "real," i.e. East Bloc, or democratic.

No economy can get by without a combination of state and market economy mechanisms, but the crucial question is which decides the issue. Does the market mechanism prevail over the state mechanism or vice-versa?

Where the world market prevails, the economy flourishes. Where bureaucrats practise a system of state control monopolised by one political party they destroy both freedom and affluence. Each system has its own objective inner logic.

In the GDR the decline of socialism has hitherto been braked for traditional and national reasons.

According to estimates by Professor Dieter Voigt of the Ruhr University, Bochum, the GDR benefits to the tune of between DM6bn and DM7bn a year from the planning reserve fund administered by the Chancellor's Office in Bonn — in exchange for about DM800m in actual returns.

It will much more, such as the control structure of the economic system up to and including the management of individual enterprises.

Despite a number of adjustments made in recent years the GDR's economy is still regimented by a system of government bureaucracy.

The major targets are set by the politburo of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED). One rung further down the ladder the planning commission draws up proposals by which to achieve these objectives.

It, together with a plethora of ministries, decides what shape the economy is to take. It specifies, for instance, how much is to be invested and how much is to be spent on consumption.

The GDR is ruined and can solve neither present nor future tasks without productive assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany.

What is the solution? In political terms, a pluralistic democracy that reactivates the devastated desire to perform and offsets the demotivation and passive resistance of the producers:

In economic terms, in a social market economy that minimises losses, makes profits possible and thus raises funds to meet the cost of social, economic and ecological needs.

They are also told how much money they will have available to invest and where they are to order the steel and sheet metal they need to produce their goods and meet their targets.

Critics have repeatedly dismissed this system as a "tonnage ideology" and the implicit irony is far from unjustified.

When you are constantly told how many tons of sheet metal must run through your roller mill you are likely, in case of doubt, to process thicker sheet metal, not thinner grades, even if customers might clamour for the latter.

By rolling thicker grades you will certainly fulfil your plan commitments. But the GDR has come to realise that such coarse planning mechanisms are unsuitable.

Greater "freedom" for individual enterprises is the latest catchword. They must earn their own funds. That means they can no longer rely on state funds to meet the cost of their investments; they must earn at least enough in profits to finance depreciation.

This arrangement is already in force experimentally in 16 combines, but they are all, gradually, by 1995, to switch to this system.

But progress to date, on the basis of the approach so far adopted, has been most half-hearted, or so experts at the DIW economic research institute, Berlin, say.

Investment implementation, for instance, is still controlled by a number of state agencies, including the government audit office and the price control authorities.

The crux of all planning in the GDR continues to be strongly centralised system of drawing up balance sheets. Over two thirds of the GDR's total manufacturing output is covered by the state planning and Ministerial balance sheet system.

Portrait of an economy gagged by central-planning bureaucrats

That has consequences. The authorities associated with this comprehensive drafting of balance sheets, including the various industrial Ministries, by no means always follow the same policy line.

The daily grind of works manager in the GDR includes being entitled to buy new machinery, subject to approval by his superiors, but not having it delivered because his supplier has failed to secure approval of the components needed to manufacture it.

Managerial staff in the GDR may be imaginative and past masters at improvisation and organisation, but that will not invariably solve the problem.

Managements accustomed to a constant shortage of supplies will fill their stores with goods they don't need themselves but which others lack. Stone Age bargaining and exchange of goods then take place.

This reversion to prehistory is no coincidence. The prices charged for goods ranging from bread to cars are the result of government decisions. Planners may be able to appreciate the worst shortcomings but that doesn't, by any stretch of the imagination, mean they have then solved the problem.

It is because they are unable to judge the true worth of product.

Supply and demand determine prices in a market economy, or so the standard West German economic textbooks say.

Need to establish realistic prices

This yardstick doesn't exist where market mechanisms are put out of action by state economic planning.

Yet without realistic prices enterprises can't do any meaningful cost accounting, and until they know what their costs are they can hardly find out whether they are running at a profit.

So they lack any incentive to step up their productivity, and material rewards such as bonuses are no help as long as employees cannot buy what they need with their money.

And what they need is not available because what consumers want is not manufactured.

The lack of realistic prices is not the only cause of problems. Instructions from "above" are frequently contradictory, DIW economic researchers say.

A regional Party organisation may call on enterprises to manufacture more consumer goods, as part of the latest campaign, while industrial Ministries call on them to manufacture more capital goods and equipment.

The management is caught in a cleft stick but tries to reconcile these contradictory interests heedless of the cost, should that be how it must be.

Arriving at a "market-oriented planned economy" will be hard work in the GDR, where behaviour of the kind

FINANCE

German firms see long-term opportunities in Poland

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

The reactivation of the Polish economy presents German firms with a unique opportunity of cornering a long-term share of the Polish market.

There can be no question of making a quick profit. Projects must be planned in depth, says Karl-Hermann Fink, business manager of the Cologne-based East Bloc Trade Committee.

In an interview with *Handelsblatt* Dr Fink said the committee's main task, as he saw it, was to provide strictly practical assistance and advice with bilateral business ventures.

This is the context in which he sees the committee's activities with regard to Poland. They include a task force for joint ventures, a procurement campaign with the emphasis on textile processing and the establishment of an audit or assessment capacity for business projects.

A German business delegate is to be appointed and moves undertaken to promote training facilities for Polish managerial and other staff.

The proposed task force for joint ventures will clearly have a key role to play. There is not just keen interest in information about joint venture possibilities; there is also a considerable potential for business undertakings of this kind.

The potential Dr Fink sees includes, in particular, the production capacity, raw materials and manpower available.

Skilled workers are a bonus, as are managerial staff, although the latter may need training.

The task force is envisaged as a permanent body consisting of German and Polish experts, preferably entrepreneurs. They will discuss any and all issues that arise in connection with the establishment and operation of joint ventures.

The Polish members' brief will include dealing with individual mishaps or shortcomings or changing the rules as and when needed.

The task force will serve as a monitor, enabling Polish partners to see where problems arise from the viewpoint of their German counterparts.

It is, he says, to start work immediately.

The procurement campaign, which has also already begun, could prove equally

logical grounds and for "educational" reasons.

Polish partners can then be acquainted with assessment methods. The human factor is what makes entrepreneurial cooperation with Poland particularly promising, he says. Polish workers are well trained and experienced.

There is even a reservoir of Polish managerial manpower, former managers of Polish state enterprises or from the country's economic administration "who are or have seized their opportunity."

Even so, further training is one of the main tasks that lie ahead in Poland, Dr Fink says. Western concepts of profitability and assessment must be taught.

The committee has plans to join forces with the Carl Duisberg Society and the Standing Conference of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in setting up a training committee.

There are also plans to appoint a German industrial delegate based in Warsaw. He will work, in addition to the trade attaché and his staff at the German embassy, as an anchorman linking German and Polish business interests.

A delegate's office is usually the precursor to the establishment of a joint — in this case German-Polish — chamber of commerce.

Polish partners must, he feels, participate in such facility — on both psycho-

Soviet and Hungarian managers learn about management

The German Management Academy, just opened in Celle, is still in its early days. Arrangements are still fairly makeshift.

Yet a group of Soviet managers, led by a deputy minister, are already undergoing management training in this picturesque small town near Hanover.

They will spend four weeks in the Federal Republic learning personnel management, controlling and marketing theory.

But the East-West Academy, as it has been dubbed in view of the high percentage of management trainees from Eastern Europe, will not move into its majestic new quarters for two years.

In the meantime a disguised labour exchange is being converted for use from next spring. Five seminars to be held between now and next spring, attended by Soviet and Hungarian managers, will be held at various venues.

The academy does not yet have full-time staff. Activities are arranged and coordinated by enthusiastic staff at the Economic Affairs Ministry, at Carl Duisberg centres and at the Lower Sax-

Continued on page 15

Loans and export credit plan to help Warsaw

The German Federal government has agreed to lend Poland DM3bn over the next three years, including DM2.5bn in Hermes export credit guarantees.

The offer was made to Polish Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Balcerowicz by Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann.

A further DM500m will be an initial German contribution toward the so-called Bush initiative; the US President offered the Polish government \$1bn in Western aid, of which Washington has supplied \$200m.

During the German-Polish talks in Warsaw overall provisions for Poland's sovereign debts were discussed as a means of restoring Warsaw's creditworthiness.

Bonn will advocate further aid to Warsaw by the Paris Club to ease the pressure of Poland's foreign debts.

That, however, presupposes Poland coming to terms with the IMF.

A debt rescheduling agreement between Bonn and Warsaw was signed not long ago. It applied to DM2.5bn in payments due by the end of last year.

Rescheduling payments due this year and next would ease pressure on Poland by about DM1.3bn, including DM2.3bn due to German creditors.

The Bonn government has virtually waived repayment of a jumbo loan made to Poland in the 1970s. DM760m has been remitted and a further DM500m converted into a zloty fund to finance projects of interest to the two countries.

German businessmen who accompanied Chancellor Kohl's delegation to Poland conferred with Premier Mazowiecki to sound out the prospects of improving the mutual exchange of goods.

A number of extra activities by the German business community have been arranged. Retail trading groups, for instance, plan to step up their imports of consumer goods from Poland.

Many German firms have come up with new export ideas: not just capital and consumer goods but, in particular, used machinery and equipment.

The advantage of second-hand equipment is both the price and the fact that it can be put to use straight away and manned by conventionally trained staff.

Even so, Poland's chronic shortage of foreign exchange will pose serious problems in connection with these attempts to forge new commercial and industrial links. (Bremer Nachrichten, 10 November 1989)

MOTORING

The Trabant puts West, bringing its smoke with it

The Trabant, the ugly little East German car with the smoke-belching two-stroke engine, has become a common sight on West German roads since the second week this month. West German motorists have been warned to be careful because accidents involving Trabis are increasing. They are slow and, because of their dull tail lights, are hard to see at night, especially by drivers of BMWs and Mercedes hurtling along the non-speed-limit autobahns. This story appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Well over half are Trabants. The vest-pocket Trabant is much more popular in than the Wartburg, which is driven, among others, by the police.

It does have a certain flair. The Landesmuseum in Brunswick and the Deutsches Museum in Munich have both invested in a Trabant as an exhibit. It looks so small and helpless, like a toy car, that it automatically arouses protective instincts — and not just among ADAC road patrolmen.

Appearances are deceptive. The Trabi is small car made in Zwickau, East Germany, may be a gas guzzler and a vehicle emission offender, but it has shown its mettle since the GDR opened its borders to let East Germans travel to the West.

An old-timer by Western standards, but still running off the assembly lines for a long waiting list of would-be car-owners in the GDR, the Trabant, fondly known as the Trabi, was seen by the thousand as East Germans queued to pass the border between Czechoslovakia and Bavaria.

Now the GDR has opened its borders with Berlin and the Federal Republic, West Berliners and West Germans will have found out at first hand what it is like to queue behind a dozen Trabis at a crossroads as they belch noxious exhaust fumes into the night air. By 9 November, the day on which the GDR authorities decided to let East Germans visit the West, triggering



A triumph of Communist technology, planning and management... the Trabant. (Photo: dpa)

hundreds in the Federal Republic. For 20 days they have complimentary insurance cover.

Neither care to say how they come by them. In the past they have mainly mailed them to the GDR on payment in hard currency. The influx of Trabis in the West has added another string to their bow.

Vehicle licensing regulations had to be amended to allow Trabis to be driven regularly by residents of the Federal Republic. A special exemption was granted at the beginning of October.

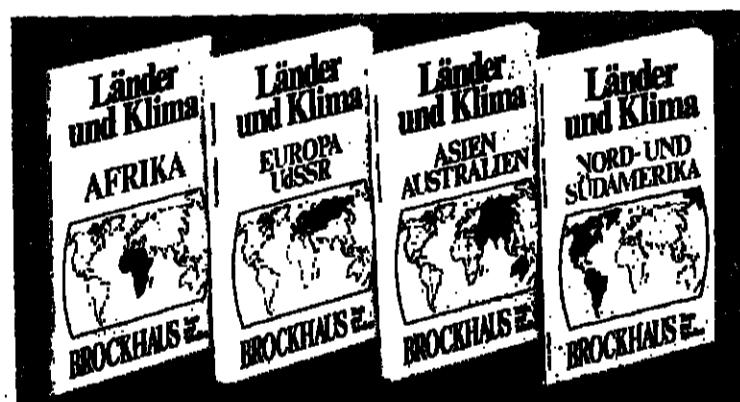
All cars brought over to the West by East German refugees were exempted from compliance with vehicle emission and noise abatement regulations. Vehicle licensing procedures (for re-registration in the West) have been simplified too. Owners have 20 days' grace before they need to re-register and re-insure their ve-

The Trabi seems to prove the good luck we had with our 'economic miracle' system in the West. It symbolises socialism as the huffing, puffing loser.

Roland Schmidt

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 14 November 1989)

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POLITICS AND THE ARTS

Leipzig: music, demonstrations, rumours and the individualism of a Heldenstadt

The city of Leipzig has been the scene of some of the most fervent anti-government demonstrations. Leipzigers have come to dislike central control from East Berlin even more than people in other centres — which is saying something. The city is one of the most run-down in East Germany — which is again saying something in a country where building decay is the

norm. With events now in Berlin moving with bewildering speed many people were for a time unable to separate rumour (has the Berlin Wall been pulled down?) from fact. Monika Zimmermann reports on Leipzig and the North Rhine-Westphalia Culture Week Connection for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Disbelieving and stunned Leipzigers turned for help to people from North Rhine-Westphalia who happened to be in Leipzig for the North Rhine-Westphalia Culture Week.

The Germans from the West must know more about events. But they didn't. Those in Leipzig and elsewhere in East Germany were more mystified than the locals.

Kurt Masur, conductor of the Gewandhaus Orchestra, said when he tried to explain the Leipzig situation to journalists from North Rhine-Westphalia: "You must have lived here for some time to understand what is happening here now."

He said that even in East Berlin, as events had shown, people did not know a lot about what the situation was in other parts of the country.

Just how far East Berlin is from Leipzig can be seen from the fact that the story spread like wildfire that the Wall in Berlin had been demolished.

At a reception by the Mayor to open the Culture Week, a young man from Leipzig excitedly reported that people were now allowed to go from the East to the West and return.

But many could hardly believe it. They just shrugged their shoulders. One said: "That's marvellous for the people in Berlin but what does it do for us?"

Another said: "Going in and out of the country has not been our main problem for a long time."

The previous evening there had been nothing like the excitement when the first trains left Leipzig station for West Berlin as there had been the night before in Berlin at the Wall.

Leipzig people have for a long time felt that the capital in East Berlin has neglected them. They are used to not expecting anything good to come out of the capital. They even distrust good news.

They remain sceptical. They won't change until they are involved in progress themselves. This feeling of dependence on the central authorities has been crippling them for a long time. Now they are in a position to take their own destiny in their hands.

This is why they were cautious about the news on the evening of 9 November, even though no one tried to make a secret of their excitement. They were proud that they had actually had a hand in creating the situation.

For several days the notice with the city's name on it on the road into Leipzig has displayed the words: Leipzig — City of Heroes of the German Democratic Republic.

Writer Christoph Hein made the suggestion that Leipzig should be described as a "Heldenstadt," city of heroes, at the large demonstration in Berlin.

His reason was that the Monday demonstrations, staged by the people of Leipzig, were decisive for what has happened in East Germany.

The citizens of Leipzig have now taken up this matter of the "Heldenstadt"

themselves. The times of instructions from "the capital" are past.

At a press conference, Masur cleared up the tale, which was being spun in Berlin about Leipzig, with the words: "I am not remote-controlled."

In Berlin Egon Krenz is regarded as the saviour of Leipzig and is being built up as such by his party comrades.

Speaking to the international press politburo member Günter Schabowski gave the Berlin version of the events in Leipzig on 9 October.

The main point he made was that Egon Krenz had personally intervened so that no conflict developed between the custodians of the law and the demonstrators.

Speaking of the day which was so decisive for Leipzig and the GDR, Masur said: "We six were quite alone and made our involvement dependent on the fact that the police would not interfere in any way."

There is no denying that he and five others broadcast over Radio Leipzig an appeal in which they said that it was of immense importance that further demonstrations in the city should be non-violent and peaceable.

What Dr Masur referred to politely could be sensed more directly in Leipzig itself. Who is going to be interested

in "Art and Culture" from North Rhine-Westphalia in these times, when most people are looking for their own identity and self-awareness, except a few culture vultures?

The audience for the official opening of the Culture Week in the Leipzig Open House was very sparse — this would have been unthinkable just a few months ago.

But then no one would have thought it likely that only an acting mayor would speak, because the official mayor had resigned.

Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, turned up in Leipzig for the opening as planned. In view of the changed situation there was nothing more for him to say than a punning remark: "Auch Ratschläge sind Schläge," advice also has its impact.

There will be music, theatre, meetings with writers, painters and journalists from North Rhine-Westphalia in Leipzig over the next two weeks. Uwe Fischer, the councillor for the arts, said encouragingly: "Look around at everything, we have nothing to hide."

Things were not always seen in that way, for immediately after Krenz came to power this NRW cultural event in Leipzig was cancelled by Berlin for reasons that came mainly from Leipzig.

Then Berlin thought the matter over and recognised the chances the event held out to simulate and conjure up normally, aided by culture, where for a long time a state of emergency had prevailed. This cannot be glossed over any longer.

The major exhibition, which North Rhine-Westphalia has brought to Leipzig, is called *Zeitzeichen*, (Time signal).

But in Leipzig people have for a long time recognised the sign of the times, even if it is something quite different from what is to be seen in the pictures.

Monika Zimmermann
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 13 November 1989)

Drum rolls as Günter Grass revisits Danzig

Günter Grass went to Gdańsk for an exhibition of the drawings he did during his stay in Calcutta three years ago. But this soon became a secondary matter.

In view of the continuing debate about German reunification and the anxiety many Poles still have about the Germans, it must have been reassuring for Grass's audience when he said he also feared German reunification.

Writer Grass spent most of his time talking about German-German relations and about the current situation and the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Poland.

The Polish press gave prominence to Grass's comments about German reunification, quoting him: "Reunification is the wrong expression. Our neighbours have justifiable fears, of a strongly militarised Germany. But it is against the nature of things in Europe, that in the middle of the Continent there should be states, regarding each other in enmity, divided by a wall."

"I am for the GDR and the Federal Republic getting closer together, and I hope that as a consequence of the reforms which are beginning, glasnost and perestroika, the German Democratic Republic will go along the path taken by Poland and Hungary. I can, for instance, envisage a confederation of the two German states."

From then on there was not much talk about art and literature, but quite a lot about politics.

Grass himself said that he had come to Gdańsk to hold high the flag of democratic socialism.

He said: "For decades a communist un-

viewpoints, have not harmed his image in any way. Quite the contrary, in fact: in Poland and particularly in Gdańsk he is the best known German-language writer.

When at the end of the 1970s the first underground publishing house came into existence, one of the first books it published was a complete translation of Grass's *The Tin Drum*.

For a long time the book could not appear legally. The censors regarded as unsuitable passages in it about the conduct of the Red Army in Poland and the expulsion of Germans from Poland.

Goodbye has been said to the hackneyed idea that Scandinavian films are just illustrative advisers for fathers and/or mothers of children endangered by neglect, women seeking self-gratification, and would-be foresters who at every possible and impossible opportunity had to break into song about the natural beauties of Scandinavia.

But no book is so well known in Gdańsk as this novel, particularly due to the colourful description of the defence of the Danzig telegraph building in September 1939. For 14 hours Polish postal workers held out against the onslaught of the German attackers, until they received the promise that they would be treated as prisoners-of-war. But they were all shot.

This event is just as laden with emotion in Poland as the defence of the Westerplatte in Danzig harbour in the first days of the war.

Many members of the audience brought along to the discussion their copies of *The Tin Drum* for an autograph from the author. Old, tattered, well-thumbed, partly yellowing copies were thrust under Grass's nose, including copies in German.

The university hall was full. Several hundred citizens had made their way to Sopot when the discussion took place. So many do not usually turn up for well-known Polish writers.

Klaus Bachmann
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger,
Cologne, 10 November 1989)

Solidarity sympathisers had motioned away all other West German Social Democrats: proof more of the sympathetic SPD attitude towards the communists. Furthermore Solidarity does not have the best memories of the Federal Republic's Social Democrats.

Nevertheless Grass, an SPD member, met Lech Wałęsa, when he was still persona non grata with the communists with whom SPD officials held talks.

His views, which lie between all Polish

FILMS

Creeping glasnost sidles into East Germany

ly been screened in small out-of-the-way cinemas.

Pehnert said that the other films would be screened so that all those interested in them could see them.

Pehnert is a former editor-in-chief of the SED youth magazine *Junge Welt* and has been "Film Minister" since December 1976.

He has been silent for a year and has only recently spoken out again since Kurt Hager, Central Committee secretary responsible for the arts and sciences, and Hager's colleague, Ursula Ragwitz, head of the arts department on the Central Committee since 1976, have been sent into "well deserved" retirement.

One step has been that East Berlin has relented and the Russian magazine *Sputnik* can again go on sale in the GDR.

Then Soviet films *The Commissioner*, made by Alexander Askoldov in 1967 but not released until 1988, *The Theme*, made by Gleb Panfilov in 1979 and released in 1986, Aleksandr Proshkin's *The Cold Summer of 1953*, *Spiele für Kinder und Und morgen war Krieg* will again be shown in the GDR. They were taken out of circulation in East Germany last autumn.

Horst Pehnert, deputy Minister for the Arts and head of "Hauptverwaltung Film" in East Berlin, said this cancelled a decision which was "arbitrary and without the agreement of those concerned, who were responsible for the purchase of these films and had them dubbed and screened for the Soviet Film Festival."

The first two of these films have again been shown for a short time, but have been withdrawn again.

The recent revival of Frank Beyer's *Spur der Steine* in a film club perfor-



Off the banned list after 23 years, *Spur der Steine*. This scene is taken from the East German review, *FilmSPIEGEL*, 1986.

Harald Wessel, deputy editor-in-chief of *Neues Deutschland*, wrote the criticism for his newspaper, and Klaus-Dieter Schütt, editor-in-chief of *Junge Welt*, wrote the slating review for his publication. Both still have their jobs and seem to be swimming nimbly with the times.

After the rehabilitation of the suspect Soviet films, another look is being given to East German films of the 1960s, languishing in the archives, which were never shown or shown only once.

These involve 12 feature-length films and almost 100 documentaries and films for television. A commission will look at these films and make proposals about which of them could be made available to the public and how they should be screened.

The new East German leader Egon Krenz must promise to draw up media legislation, which will prevent what happened to the five Russian films and the East German archive films happening again.

Peter Jochen Winter
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 6 November 1989)

children whom she told to go on playing. A woman neighbour became aware of this and got very excited and so and so on.

The Nordic Film Festival jury took the view that this film was not only worthy of an award because it was as inspiring as it was simple, but because it was vivid as it was instructive.

It was a sociological chain reaction, as it were, and not to be surpassed by epic films such as Ola Söderström's *Lundström*, from the book by Norwegian novelist, playwright and poet Knut Hamsun who died in 1952.

On the contrary, this tear-jerker displays the Scandinavian propensity to overdo scenes and exaggerate self-adulation, which of course leads to the usual relapses — to wild-looking country faces in close-up, to haystacks in gleaming contre-jour photography and, naturally, to the obligatory dream lake in the tundra in the early snow.

As has already been said, what used to be the rule is now the exception, and ultimately the contemporary Nordic film has a more narrative quality, is more varied than it was five years ago. All in all the Nordic film has become much more impressive.

There have also been advances of another kind. The most noteworthy is that at the beginning of September two hundred film-makers from the five Scandinavian countries got together and set up their own lobbying organisation, the Association of Northern Film Directors.

Its purpose is to provide Scandinavian film-makers with a focus for their solidarity. They plan to make their views felt by talking, talking and talking about themselves and their work.

Continued on page 14

Festival bids adieu to the Nordic cliché — sayonara

look at their own homelands produces something other than just natural beauty.

The film shows that Thorshaven, which plays a part in *Atlantic Rhapsody*, is just like other large towns in Scandinavia with single-family homes and supermarkets.

The third lesson to be learned is that the simplest means are still the most effective.

Where does Katrin Ottarsdóttir's simplicity lie in this, her first film? It lies mainly in the fact that she has directed the 52 takes of her film like a relay-race



The simple is still the most effective... Katrin Ottarsdóttir's *Atlantic Rhapsody*.
(Photo: Nordic Film Festival)

MEDICINE

The Berlin Wall and lowering barriers between the mind and treatment

Doctors meeting in Giessen to discuss new approaches to medicine in general and psychosomatics in particular found their ideas being influenced by the holes that were being smashed into the Berlin Wall even as they spoke. Rosemarie Stein reports for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Hopes of a revolutionary change in our "elbows first" society from the fitness cult and from the overrating of medicine to greater respect for life were voiced by a doctor from the Federal Republic of Germany.

A Soviet specialist referred to the humanisation of medicine and to the establishment of a "Charity and Health Society" in the Soviet Union.

An East German speaker referred to what, for years, had been the growing importance of the individual in the GDR, which badly needed to convert medicine from being a mere repair service.

Entire sections of all three speeches could have been transposed without anyone being any the wiser, so universal, transnational and surprisingly uniform is "New Thinking" in the medical profession.

They were made at a scientific congress held in Giessen on the day after the intra-German border was thrown open, an event that overshone and changed the course of the proceedings.

The "departure from specialised limitations" that was felt by the organiser, the German College of Psychosomatic Medicine, to be desirable succeeded to a totally unexpected extent.

"For the Berlin Wall to come tumbling down is for me a symbol of New Thinking," said Frankfurt psychotherapist Michael Lukas Moeller.

The Wall, Professor Moeller felt, stood for a very detached manner of dealing with one another.

Psychosomatic medicine seeks to span the enormous distance between conventional medicine and everything to do with the mind. It itself thus constitutes New Thinking, a new approach to medicine as a whole.

This point was made in debate against the congress's subject heading "New Thinking in Psychosomatics."

New thinking is, of course, under way in psychosomatics itself. One key out-

come has been its extension to include a social dimension.

The enormous importance of this dimension was stressed by Bundestag Speaker Rita Süßmuth in her congress address. It was rend in her absence: she had flown to Berlin instead to take part in a demonstration.

Man in his totality of body and soul was always a social being, she said. Nowadays one must surely refer to health upsets or even diseases of society.

The breakneck pace of change, with which many people are unable to keep pace, and the "global challenges faced by mankind" triggered fears for the future, led to a drastic increase in the number of complaints and resulted in a withdrawal from politics or a drift toward political extremism.

He had often been in the GDR in recent years and held discussions with groups of people who were devising new thinking, new forces, new strategies — and an enormous sense of solidarity by means of which to hold their own and to support each other.

Professor Richter felt that jubilation in the West about the victory achieved by people in the GDR had in some cases been caused by a feeling of guilt at having, to all intents and purposes, failed to keep track of the trend.

As in many other sectors, New Thinking had taken shape almost unnoticed in medicine in the GDR too. It had been doing so for many years, said Professor Michael Geyer, Leipzig head of the GDR Society for Medical Psychotherapy.

"Shaken with emotion and breathless at the pace of this movement, this revolutionary upsurge by an entire society," he first noted how Freud's "subversive thinking" had regained ground since the mid-1970s and psychoanalytically oriented forms of treatment suitable for everyday medical use had taken shape.

He then spoke out strongly, with unaccustomed fervour for the Federal Republic, of the need for a new medicine that must no longer treat the patient as its object; it must regard him as a subject and capable of both dialogue and interaction.

In his view medicine seemed to be one of the last strongholds of Old Thinking. "Medicine is an ultra-conservative system, as we can see in the GDR too."

As a university teacher one felt ashamed that no progress was being made at university and that arch-conservative

That, Professor Richter said, was why modern medicine often had difficulty with charity, or the spirit of mercy. It frequently registered hardship as a collection of data.

academic structures stood in the way of the least change in medicine.

"That is the same in the West as it is in the East," he said. "Medicine in its old guise is the whore of each and every system. It adapts to all conditions, including totalitarian conditions, and perpetuates them."

As an authority seeking to strike a social balance it aimed at levelling out social conflicts that caused illnesses rather than discussing them.

Professor Geyer envisaged a doctor who no longer lived off the immoral earnings of a profession that was a whore, that no longer reacted to every statement by the patient by resorting to medical measures.

He must appreciate the mental and social reality of the sick person and bear it in mind in caring for his fellow-human.

That was the only way in which the doctor could shoulder his political responsibility and place at society's disposal the potential for social criticism that medicine always had.

Warning against making political capital

He stressed that political capital must on no account be made out of the patient's hardship, as had been done by the Heidelberg patients' collective, a 1968 left-wing forerunner of the Baader-Meinhof urban guerrilla movement.

Professor Geyer felt social and structural change in industrial society to be so far-reaching that even the "social subsystem medicine" was compelled to change.

In a message of greetings to the GDR's Psychosomatics Association, with which cooperation was sought, people in the GDR were said to have achieved much for the social context of human health by means of their self-liberation.

Before the text was approved misgivings were voiced. Might sending a message of greetings couched in these terms not be felt to be arrogant? Delegates from the GDR dismissed any such fears.

"These are words we need," one of them said. "We need contact, dialogue, a common front in the fight for genuine democratic and ecological conditions."

A new struggle was already being ushered in: between one group that aimed solely at Western-style living standards and another that aimed at

New Thinking — and new living.

"Your country too will be changed, depending on the outcome of this struggle," he said.

Rosemarie Stein
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 13 November 1989)

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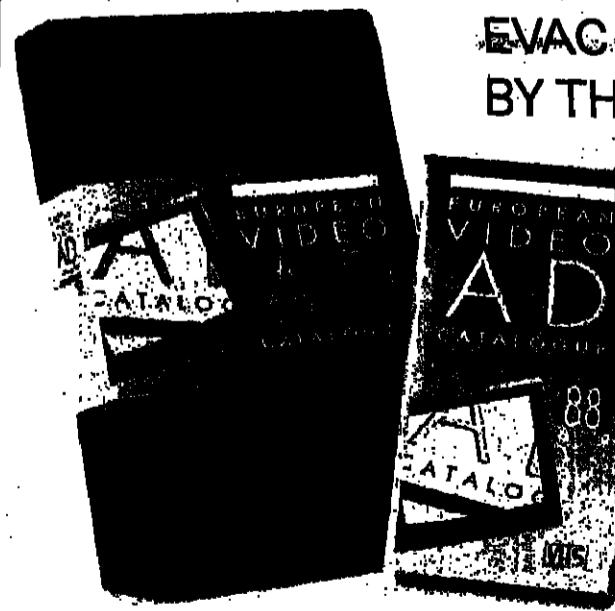
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EAST GERMAN SPORT

Jumping for joy – but mainly for socialism

Egon Krenz, the brand-new general secretary of the East Berlin party, appeared on television. He was succeeded by Erich Honecker, the old boss, who was being pensioned off.

Krenz said he was reminded of the day after figure skater Katarina Witt at the Olympic Games in Calgary last year when the official government and party paper, *Neues Deutschland*, ran a front-page photograph of the highly attractive Fräulein Witt. Never before had the paper (the grinding dullness of which is legendary. Ed.) used such a big photograph and Krenz made the point that no other event or socialist statesman had ever been given this treatment.

He must appreciate the mental and social reality of the sick person and bear it in mind in caring for his fellow-human.

That was the only way in which the doctor could shoulder his political responsibility and place at society's disposal the potential for social criticism that medicine always had.

The decision to use the photo in large format was not taken by the newspaper's sports staff, nor by the editor. It was taken by Honecker himself, a fervent fan of Fräulein Witt. He wanted to make it clear from one end of the country to the other what importance was placed in such success. Honecker had referred to the "loveliest face of socialism."

But, and Krenz did not mention this, that although the idea was received in the West as a nifty piece of newspaperwork, it was greeted by most East Germans with derision.

When Fräulein Witt later compered a rock concert in East Berlin, she got the message straight from the shoulder — she was hissed off the stage. Honecker calling. No thanks.

At the Munich Olympics in 1972, East German athletes won 20 gold medals. At Montreal in 1976, they won 40. Then, *Neues Deutschland* wrote: "It might seem perplexing to citizens of the German Democratic Republic, but inside two weeks, the name GDR has become a name in Montreal."

Manfred Ewald, then head of the East German sports association, said in Canada: "The GDR was barely known here as a socialist state. But now I think that millions of Canadians know better what GDR means." It was the breakthrough for East German sport, it was a victory for diplomats especially hard."

Despite the lack of hard currency and economic difficulties, a significant part of the national budget was allocated to sport every year. "The fact that the system was on the point of collapsing was kept quiet. And no one was in a position to establish how many billions actually were being spent."

Sport kept on showing it was a bottomless hole which was draining an already weak economy: international sporting success brought no material advantage to the economy.

So can the regime maintain its attitude? No, says the anonymous athlete now in the West. "It's not possible on economic grounds. And in any case, functionaries can no longer entice young athletes to travel to the West. Nobody is going to torture themselves for years to receive expenses of five marks a day in West money."

"Another point: what has been hap-

tion for war and the promotion of competitive sport go hand in hand, that the terminology and the logistics of both are similar." Support for competitive sport would decline.

Sport was an important part of foreign policy under both the state founder, Walter Ulbricht, and Honecker.

It was even used to deal with tension within the East Bloc itself in the difficult 1950s and 60s. When Honecker succeeded Ulbricht as party secretary general in 1971, he boosted sporting links with Poland and Czechoslovakia in order to help integration in the East European bloc.

In 1961, East Germany established sporting-political contact with Cuba with the aim of using Cuban sporting success to spread the attraction of socialism. Between 1976 and 1980, 98 sports coaches and other experts spent time in 19 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Since East Germany was founded in 1949, about 300 sports experts have helped in more than 25 countries. Can sport remain the top export product of East Germany?

Igor Kotterba, former editor of the East Berlin magazine *Der Leichtathlet* (Track and Field) and sports correspondent for the (East) Berlin *Zeitung*, who now lives in the West, says: "Last year the cash allocation for GDR sport was cut by between 40 and 50 per cent. That hit leading sports clubs especially hard."

And now sports that have not been actively promoted by the state have been flourishing. The national hockey team which has qualified for the European championships has succeeded because of its own efforts. It owes nothing to state assistance. It just goes to show how sporting habits are changing.

Now the best-known sports reporter in East Germany, Heinz-Florian Oertel, demands open payment to athletes, something that would in fact be the ending of a system of shamanism. State amateurs have always received money.

So, what will happen? Wolfgang Schmidt, one of the best discus throwers in the world who once spent 14 months in East German jails, fears: "not a lot."

GDR sport will retain its original structure. In my opinion, there will be variations only within the system because there is a shortage of competitors in all Olympic sports."

Kotterba: "Sport is a matter of prestige in East Germany, so they're not going to want to shake the system up, especially if what emerges is that which has ever since the advent of *glasnost* in the Soviet Union been advanced by the leadership of

the political picture."

Athletes have contributed most to the recognition of East Germany. They weren't called "diplomats in track suits" for nothing. They won and they won and they won until no one was able to ignore the country they competed for.

Many people in foreign countries, especially in Asia and Africa, even came to think of East Germany as being the biggest and most significant German state. That was the aim of Walter Ulbricht and Erich Honecker, the first two party leaders.

The Medal War of the Nations (sometimes called the Olympic Games) was the ideal means of achieving this aim. At the apex of this strategy of achieving recognition were well-known sports, especially track-and-field events, Cyclist "Tave" Schütz was appointed to the East Berlin parliament, the Volkskammer. Top athletes have privileges which only politicians and artists otherwise have. Now they are demanding both reforms and payment in hard currency. Times are changing. The main aim of top GDR athletes was to be able to travel outside their country. That was the greatest incentive to perform well. Now that everyone can travel, that privilege has disappeared.

Hermann von Berg

(Die Welt, Bonn, 14 November 1989)

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 November 1989)



(Photo: Klaus Melner)

East Germany: socialism and democracy the East German way. Because the Soviet attitude that there are now more important things than sport won't be followed. More likely is that the changes will be tailored to the German mentality and changed in other ways and perfected and rationalised."

But how long would it be possible to keep this up? "Only as long as the people don't see through it and react against it," says the East German athlete. "But not yet, because the time is not yet ripe."

Klaus Blume

(Rheinischer Merkur 'Christ und Welt', Bonn, 3 November 1989)

Games might become games once more

Soon, that sporting paradise of East Germany, will be like other sporting nations. That means that sport will soon in Leipzig, Dresden or Rostock be the best diversity there is in the world — and nothing more.

The dazzling array of medals East Germany has won over the past years will soon become just something to read about. Because sport the way it is being run now in East Germany is merely another image of the political picture.

Athletes have contributed most to the recognition of East Germany. They weren't called "diplomats in track suits" for nothing. They won and they won and they won until no one was able to ignore the country they competed for.

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Manfred Lehnen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 November 1989)

HEALTH

Nurses' verdict on hospital doctors: rude, inconsiderate, arrogant and tactless

Medical sociologists Jürgen Wilhelm and Elke Balzer say nurses and orderlies in intensive care wards are "hopping mad about the system" and critical of the role played by doctors in their work.

Wilhelm, of Göttingen, and Balzer, of Hanover, questioned 34 nurses and orderlies, so they cannot be said to have interviewed a representative cross-section. But their survey is the first of its kind, and its findings are alarmingly negative.

They permit the conclusion that the doctor as a "drug," recommended by Hungarian psychoanalyst Michael Balint as the most important "medicine" on the road to recovery, is evidently prescribed too seldom in everyday hospital procedure.

The Göttingen nurses felt that doctors, instead of incorporating empathy and readiness to talk with patients as part of their treatment, tended to leave this "emotional work" to the nursing staff. Medical staff concentrated on the scientific and technological side of patient care.

Nurses felt they were left with much the worse share: too much work for too low wages, demanding work and diminutive prestige.

Yet the nursing elite is normally to be found in intensive care wards, where work is felt to be attractive.

In comparison with working conditions in ordinary wards it holds forth the prospect of privileges such as higher wages and promotion, greater job satisfaction, independent work combined with team work, and some degree of equality with the status enjoyed by medical staff, their work having more in common in intensive care.

Yet that evidently doesn't mean representatives of the two group get on better with each other. Balzer and Wilhelm came across many reservations and misgivings, especially among nursing staff about ward doctors.

Conflicts were felt to arise partly from strain caused by the system and partly from doctors' behaviour toward both patients and nurses.

Criticism of the system as voiced was

DIE ZEIT

criticism of the university hospital as a research facility. Many nurses and orderlies interviewed felt doctors experimented too much, used too much equipment, made (and concealed) mistakes.

Operations were not infrequently carried out for educational or training purposes, and even on patients who were terminal cases.

University hospital intensive care wards were criticised as a repository of the sickest and most ailing patients. Seriously ill patients who had long since been abandoned by other hospitals were accepted, arguably as human guinea pigs.

Intensive care meant maximum therapy, or treatment beyond the state of coma. Patients had often been medically given up yet continued to be kept mechanically alive. Doctors no longer put in an appearance, leaving nurses to maintain a constant watch on patients and their condition.

Similar complaints had it that doctors spent much less time at less regular intervals at the sickbed than nursing staff.

The higher a doctor's standing, the less time he or she spent on patients. Ward manpower and schedules (daily and weekly for doctors) were said by nurses to lead to doctors no longer, or barely, seeing the patient as a sufferer.

The result was that nurses took up the patient's cause, with the work that involved, such as reminders, requests, phone calls, running after doctors and remedying mistakes.

Nurses and orderlies were critical of the

prestige and pecking order in the medical profession. Typical, they felt, was the dispute over patients and the right way of treating them.

There was competition between representatives of different schools of thought and forms of therapy on the one hand, while on the other colleagues held superior or subordinate rank in the hierarchical structure.

Rotation of doctors was felt to impose a serious burden on working relations between nursing and medical staff in intensive care wards.

Time and again fresh doctors who were not infrequently "young, inexperienced or pregnant" were assigned to intensive care wards for a three- or six-month stint.

In addition to these drawbacks of the system, respondents were critical of many doctors' behaviour too. It was said to be too coarse and brutal in their dealings with patients and at times outrageous in the way they dealt with nursing staff.

Conflicts such as these ought to be dealt with by professionally supervised conversation groups, but groups are so far run at best in psychosomatic and psychiatric wards.

These problems are not publicly discussed at the professional level either. They certainly go unmentioned in the debate on the shortage of nursing care — even though that would be the only effective way of combating them.

Feelings of modesty went unrespected and the most fundamental laws of courtesy ignored.

Without warning or a word of greeting a patient's blanket had been stripped and work carried out on his naked body. In another case requests for drugs to ease pain had been ignored.

Doctors were felt to be equally unfeeling in their behaviour toward nursing staff, who felt they were subjected to insult and humiliation.

"Silly little nurses" were made to feel that they were "second-rate individuals." Surgeons were past masters of tactless behaviour. The arrogant way in which they dismissed nurses helping to change bedages and drain wounds as nonprofessionals whenever something didn't work at the first attempt infuriated nurses.

So did the typical doctor's tantrums when nurses proved unable to do what that ought, basically, to be performed by the doctor in any case.

Doctors were felt to be particularly unfair in venting their spleen on inexperienced nurses, ordering them about and making them work at the double even when they, the doctors, could do the work themselves.

In short, nursing staff accused their medical colleagues of arrogance and ignorance.

How did they handle these shortcomings? Balzer and Wilhelm say they tend to conceal their reactions, criticising, laughing or smirking behind the doctor's back.

They avoid contact with doctors, let doctors stew in their own juice with their errors and omissions, fail to remedy matters and call any but the doctor responsible. Hatred, annoyance and criticism are concealed.

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Claudia Wessel-Hanssen

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 November 1989)

ROAD SAFETY

Teaching drivers to be more careful is key to reducing death toll of children

In this article for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*, Walther Wuttke looks at the evergreen problem of children and road traffic and argues that the entire approach to road safety must be changed.

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why adults should be taught how children act on the road.

Certainly small children should be taught how to behave in traffic, but the aim should not be the impossible one of completely road-training them.

Children have far too much confidence in the reaction of adults to imagine that they would be harmed by the people they model themselves on.

Frequently road safety instructors hear motorists defending themselves with the remark: "But the child must have seen me."

At first glance, certainly, the situation was clear — for the motorist. But the child has a limited field of vision. The child could not see the oncoming car.

Frequently an adult's thoughtlessness is a factor in an accident involving a child. A long-running point for discussion in motoring magazines has been the question of speed on roads in front of school buildings — for years the result has been predictable. Accidents.

Motorists blow their horns when they see schoolchildren but they rarely slow down.

The attitude of our southern neighbours is quite the opposite. Italians, for whom the most important instrument in their car is perhaps the horn, make lots of noise, but they also have a foot on the brake.

Speed limits will not help much in controlling the speed madness on roads in front of schools and kindergartens. They would never be observed.

There was little enthusiasm for the model among bus operators.

Road-surface obstacles such as artificial bumps, traffic islands and traffic lights increase road safety for children. Obviously straightening out a road from time to time only has the sad consequence of a difficult accident.

In Hungary the academy advertises in a professional journal. To qualify for courses lasting several months trainees must be graduates with several years' job experience and be able to follow German-language courses without difficulty.

Worried parents have to learn from experience that city and town administrations can only be pushed to taking decisive action when a child is injured or killed on the way to school or kindergarten.

Ministries and foundations in other German Länder are experimenting with similar schemes, but only Lower Saxony provides both theoretical and practical training.

Often parental attitudes make it difficult for children to behave correctly in road traffic. Parents with their children thoughtlessly cross at traffic lights or zebra crossings when the pedestrian light shows red, or they go down one-way streets in the wrong direction on a bicycle, or they park on pavements so

Practical training is provided by local firms who hope contacts may lead to contracts.

When a Soviet management trainee sees for himself how goods are manufactured and gets to know the people who make them he will arguably prefer the product he knows.

That is why apprenticeships are provided by both large firms, such as Volkswagen or Preussag, and a wide range of smaller companies, such as Cameron Iron Works GmbH, Celle.

They feel students must be taught conversational techniques that demonstrate empathy with the patient when the time comes to tell patients and their families that cancer has been diagnosed.

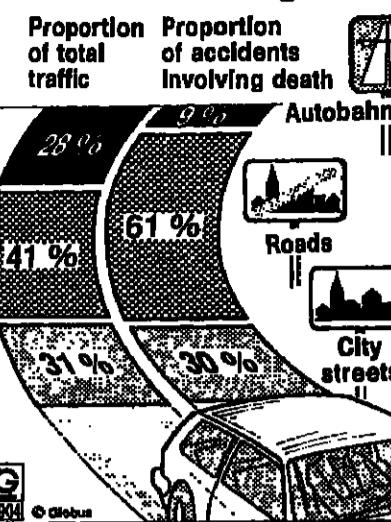
Munich psychologist Dr Almut Schellchopp told the congress about a survey which had shown that cancer patients were better able to come to terms with their complaint when they had been comprehensively briefed by their doctor as soon as it had been diagnosed.

Plans aren't limited to training. Once makeshift arrangements have been suspended and the academy is installed in its new quarters regular exchanges of opinion between East and West are envisaged.

Going to and coming from school is the most dangerous part of a child's day, and the supposed greater safety of the school bus does not alter this much.

In other countries, the USA for example, especially built buses are used as school buses; in the rich Federal Republic the oldest buses transport children to and from school.

Where the danger is



on long holiday trips. A few years ago, when fines were imposed on adults who did not use safety belts, the use of safety belts rose by 90 per cent; but the federal office for traffic affairs noted in March that only 59 per cent of children were using safety belts; 29 per cent of these children were in special children's seats.

The security of children using a standard safety belt is, however, open to question. The safety belt system built into rear seats is designed for adults. They are only effective in protecting young people in an accident who are 1.20 metres tall. Only the special children's seat gives a child who is smaller safety.

In a head-on collision a child sitting in a rear seat is like a missile and is projected forwards. The child can suffer serious injury himself or herself as well as the parents in the front seats.

Safety comes more cheaply than a car radio

Cost cannot be the reason why for a long time there have not been special children's seats in cars. Depending on the security system used the cost is between DM60 and DM200. This is not much for an extra, measured against the additional charge for a car radio, for instance.

When making a purchase parents should take care that the children's seat has an orange label with the number ECE 44 on it. This is the producer's guarantee that the seat comes up to internationally laid-down regulations.

The various systems are divided into four groups. Group Zero is offered for babies weighing up to nine kilograms. There are cradles for them which are fixed at three points at the passenger seat side of the car, facing the opposite direction to the direction of travel.

The shocking aspect of these figures is that, according to traffic experts, the number of severely injured children could be reduced by 15 per cent if the parents had placed the children in an appropriate child's seat.

The motoring magazine *auto motor* looked at 870 accidents. It reported that the risks for children not using a safety belt was seven times greater than for children secured in the car.

The magazine reported that 82.7 per cent of children in seat belts or children's seats came through accidents without any injury.

Yet, despite these figures and the repeated appeals to parents to buckle their children into a seat in the car, most children travel in cars without any protection. Safety belts are only used for children when driving on motorways or

Walther Wuttke
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 10 November 1989)